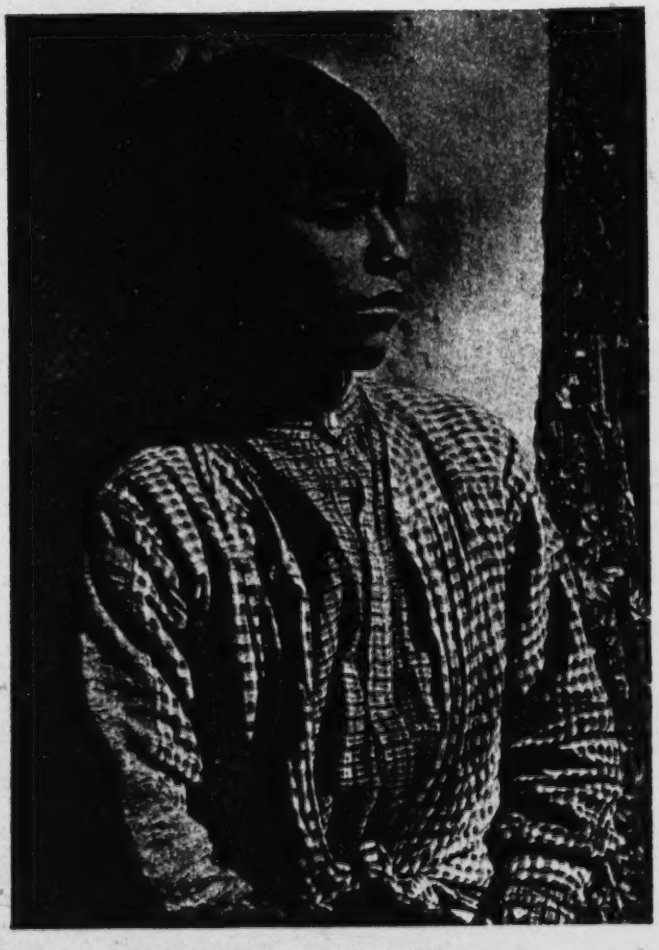
1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

142
291
302



THE PHYSICAL TYPE

[facing page 29]

[Facing page 36]

KITCHEN: SHOWING *TLEQUIL*, *COMAL*, *METATE*, *METL*
OLLA DE NIXTAMAL, AND *BATEA*

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

142
291
● 302
354
412
415
516
252

PIL,

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Tepoztlán. Almost invariably there are earrings, often of gold (S. *aretes;* N. *areteztin*), and a short string of beads, most commonly red seeds (N. *corales;* N. *coraleztin*). Except when walking long distances, when sandals may be worn, or when in city dress, which includes shoes, the feet are bare. The only overgarment is the *rebozo* (N. *payo*), a sort of shawl worn over the head and upper body; one end is drawn across the breast and thrown back over the left shoulder. This is the characteristically Mexican garment worn almost everywhere and by every class except the highest. The *rebozo*, like the *zarape*, is a post-Conquest development, but unlike the *zarape* it has no Indian progenitor. It probably represents a cheaper and more practical modification of the Spanish *mantilla* by the working Indian woman; and it had already taken its form by the end of the sixteenth century.[1]

Many women possess, for Sunday costume, a one-piece dress of finer material. This is nearly always white, with a flounced skirt, and ornamented with pink or blue ribbons.

No woman ever wears a hat except when a man's hat is worn for work in the fields or traveling in the sun. When sitting in the sun a woman may wind the *rebozo* on her head like a turban, but the real turban headdress frequently found in Southern Mexico is absent. The hair is worn in two braids, or, particularly by girls and young women, in a single braid. No cos-

[1] José de J. Nuñez y Dominguez, *El rebozo*. Mexico: Departamento Editorial de la Dirección General de las Bellas Artes, 1917.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

metics are used except that at the carnival talcum powder may be put on the face.

Two generations ago the prevailing woman's costume in Tepoztlán was of another sort, a sort which included more aboriginal elements. This costume still survives in Tepoztlán, where two or three old women still wear it; there are probably others in the neighboring hamlets. It consisted of two principal garments: a skirt (N. *pitzcueitl*), of homespun, white above the hip and black below, where it was pleated; and a white triangle of similar homespun worn over the head like a *poncho* with one corner hanging down the back. This latter garment is the *quechquemitl*. It is a probably indigenous garment worn by Indian women in Central and Northern Mexico.

These two garments were made locally on primitive looms. Today all textiles are imported either as ready-made garments or as cloth to make up into clothing, except some of the women's belts which are still made locally.

The children's clothing reproduces that of the adults.

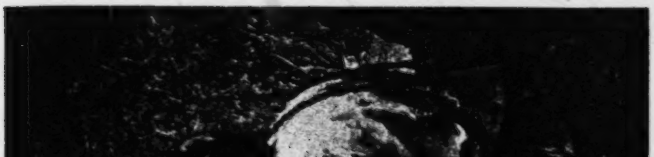
The aboriginal transportation system and that introduced by the Spaniards exist side by side in Tepoztlán, as they do nearly everywhere in Mexico. *Burros*, mules, horses, and oxen, with the accompanying paraphernalia—saddles, bridles, lassos, yokes—are used in patterns substantially those of sixteenth-century Spain. Only the wheel is not used in Tepoztlán, because the steepness and rockiness of the roads make its use impossible.

[facing page 48]

THE LOOM

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

286
291
302
516



1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the day of the *fiesta* they come to dance before the *santo*. They march up to the chapel and kneel before the altar. Then they dance and sing inside the chapel. They wear tall, plumed headdresses, embroidered with beads and small mirrors, pink or red blouses, short red skirts with bead and shell pendants, colored stockings, and sandals. Some are women; most are men, who wear long false hair. They dance to mandolins made of armadillo shell. Their leaders carry banners bearing the name of their organization and effigies of *santos*. After they have paid their respects to the *santo* in the church, they come outside and, forming a circle, begin to dance in the atrium. The step is varied from time to time, but the dancers keep their respective places in the circle. Occasionally they sing. The leader sings the verses, and all join in the chorus:

¡Ay! Jesús!
Solo Jesús
Quiso morir en la cruz.

The *cuadrillos* of *Apaches* from San Juan and from Santiago arrive together, accompanied by a band of musicians. They march into the church to kneel before the *santo*, before beginning to dance on the other side of the atrium. The dancing keeps up all morning.

While they are dancing the large candles to be burned before the *santo* are brought in a procession from the house of the *mayordomo* of the candles. Men carry them swung on poles. In front go women carrying baskets of flowers and braziers of burning copal

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

142
291
302

A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE OLDER FOLK CULTURE

[facing page 209]

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

142
291
302

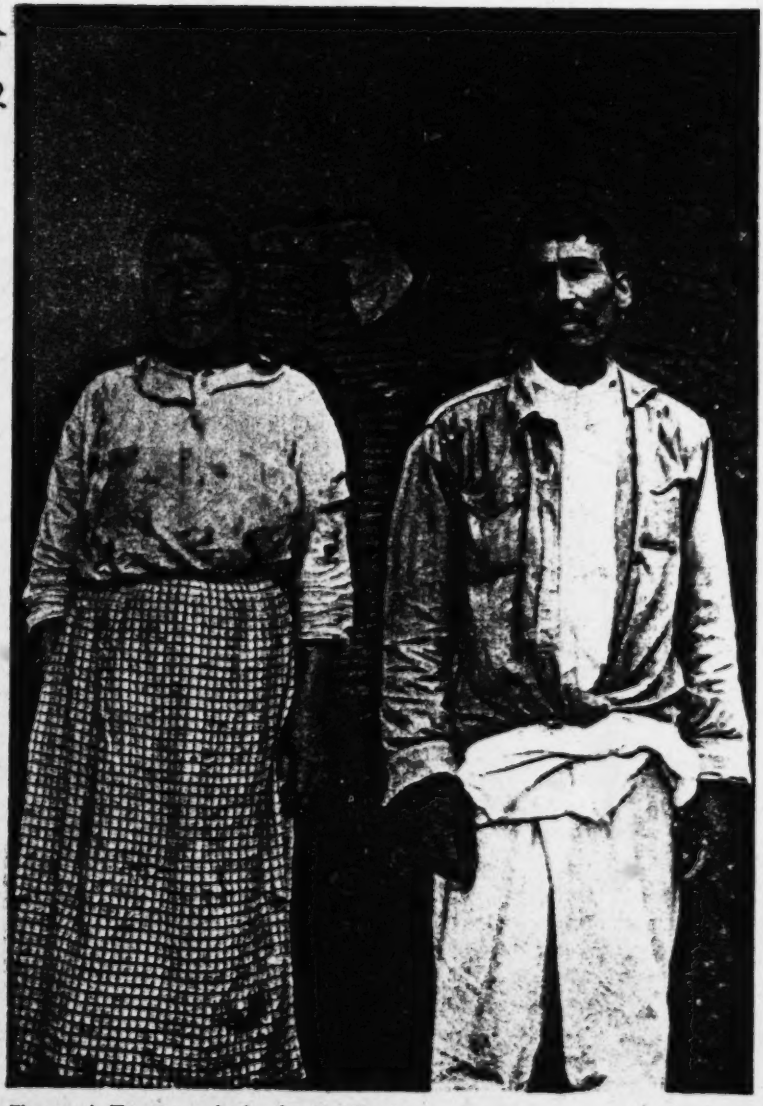


Fig. 51. A Tepoztecan husband and wife.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

578 606 her mother, and may have looked to marriage as an escape from work and supervision. When, after marriage, she finds herself working even harder for the family of her husband under the sharp, critical eye of her mother-in-law, the situation is one of jumping into the frying pan to be saved from the fire. The young wife today is more mature and more skilled than the child-wife of thirty years ago and no longer needs the mother-in-law's teaching and guidance.

Certain differences between the older and younger generation also affect mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relations. The mother-in-law, whose generation suffered the acute privation and misery of the Revolution and learned to live in the utmost economy, expects of her daughter-in-law a self-denial and economy for which the young woman is not always prepared. Often after marriage the young wife finds that she has fewer dresses and shoes, goes out much less to fiestas, to Cuernavaca, or to the movies. Many young women have learned to bathe three or [515] four times a week and to change clothing whenever soiled, much to the annoyance of their mothers-in-law who must provide the soap and clothing.

In one case a mother-in-law scolded her daughter-in-law for this and said, "What difference is it to you if your dress is a little dirty. Is it for a lover that you are keeping yourself so clean?" Many young women have now become accustomed to [302] using face powder, lipstick, cold cream, toothpaste, and fine soap, the use of which is considered distasteful and extravagant by the mother-in-law and discontinued after marriage. Many of the younger married women chafe over the restraints [484] placed upon their personal movements, their friendships, and, of course, their right to go out unaccompanied. The slow but steady increase in the freedom of the younger women, particularly of those who have spent several years in school, makes the role of the daughter-in-law more difficult.

[596] The way out of an unpleasant relationship for both the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law is to separate their households. Usually the young couple move out, but occasionally the old couple or the widowed mother-in-law will move away. If no other dwelling is available, separate households may be established in the same house site, with each family cooking over its own fire and carrying on its economic affairs independently. Sometimes the wife is unable to persuade her husband to move away or to convince him that she is not at fault, and is forced to continue to [596] live with her mother-in-law. Not infrequently, if the situation becomes too intoler- [586] able, the young wife will separate from her husband and return to the home of her parents. It is believed in the village that many marriages have been broken because the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law did not get on well together.

606 Father-in-law and daughter-in-law relations are generally similar to father-[596] daughter relations, only more reserved. When the daughter-in-law lives in the same household, she serves the father-in-law under the direction of the mother-in-law; beyond that, contacts between the two are generally few because the men spend [835] a good deal of time away from home. A few cases of incestuous relations between daughter-in-law and father-in-law have been reported. In each of these cases the [578] father was a widower, and the indiscretion caused deep family rifts.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

closes when touched, is sometimes placed under the child's pillow to make him stop crying and go to sleep. Sometimes the leaf of the *sapote blanco* may also be used. When a small child cries because he is *chincual*, or irritated in the rectum, the small berries of the *tokeachichi*[6] are put into the rectum to stop the crying. If a child is restless and sleepless because of diarrhea, his abdomen and buttocks are rubbed with hot tallow, into which has been mixed the powdered flower of the *cempazochil*, and then wrapped in a hot cloth.

Children are, for the most part, not hurried in their development. A healthy child is expected to walk at about one year and to talk at about two years. If the child does not walk by that time, some parents rub his leg and calf muscles with earth warmed by the sun, to remove the "cold" from his legs. More acculturated women may help their children learn to walk by placing a sash under the arms for support or by putting a toy before them. Children are only mildly encouraged to speak, by repeating words to them. There is little correction of childlike errors in speech, such as substituting "y" for "r" or omitting "s," or misplacing syllables, so that errors persist until the child is five or six years of age. If a child cannot speak by the time he is three or four, a church key may be borrowed and turned in the child's mouth to "unlock" it. It is believed by many that the fingernails of a child should not be cut until he begins to speak, because the palate will fall and the child will be mute. To prevent children from scratching themselves with their long nails, some mothers put little mittens on their hands. When teeth are late in coming, the gums may be rubbed with a grasshopper's leg until the gums bleed. This is an old practice and is no longer known by many of the younger people. It is also believed that a child's hair should not be cut before one year, or the child will become ill.

Most mothers prefer a quiet child to an active one and do not encourage children to be independent. It is considered careless and neglectful to permit children to crawl on the floor or in the dirt, and few mothers put their infants down for more than a moment. This attitude is in part due to the fact that children who crawl are more troublesome and need watching, and in part because there is usually no clean, safe place in which a child may crawl. Inside the house or in the patio there is always danger from insects and animals. Women point out that infants who are allowed to crawl about unobserved almost always suffer from chronic diarrhea, worms, and intestinal diseases. Mothers who have no one to help them often put their small children into a large box while they do their work. In the past a busy mother tied her child to a stake and let him play on a *petate*, but this is no longer done.

All infants in Tepoztlán are carried almost every waking moment up to the time they begin to walk. Children are carried a great deal even after they can walk and not infrequently until they are three and four years old. In Tepoztlán, children are not cradled or slung in the *rebozo*, as in some parts of Mexico, but are held in

[6] *Solanum nigrum.*

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

291
302
888
737

Fig. 64. Tepoztecans worry about facing a dependent old age.

737
888

The situation of the aged varies considerably from family to family. The ownership of property, particularly of the kind which can be rented out and which produces an income with little or no work, is the best assurance for a secure old age. [428] It is for this reason that parents generally do not divide their property among the children until after death. Delayed inheritance also gives them continued control [593] over their children; if a married son lives with his parents well into their old age they are indeed fortunate, for he works the land, and the daughter-in-law does most of the work of the household. But most old people own only their house and *sitio*, with perhaps a few fruit trees and a pig, and can be self-supporting only by hiring themselves out to others, or by carrying on a business.

A large proportion of old women, especially widows, support themselves by washing and ironing clothes, by selling tortillas, by raising a few pigs and chickens for [589] sale, by buying small amounts of fruit and garden produce to sell in other villages, [887] or as midwives and *curanderas*. There are fewer non-strenuous, gainful activities for old men, particularly for those who have learned no skill other than farming. Those who have no children or relatives to whom they can turn for regular or occasional aid are in a difficult position. Occasionally an aged person finds it necessary to support not only himself but an orphaned grandchild or a disabled, unmarried son or daughter. But the majority of Tepoztecan old people are at least partially aided by a son or daughter, a nephew, or grandchild. Cases of neglect, indifference, and even cruelty occur, but are few.